1: Lhote--13 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 /Fr. race/, " "aristocrat, " and not "noble" as some have written.
[192] This would be said elli (plural, illellan) in Tamashek. (1)

1. Cf. Nicolas, "Notes sur la société et l'état des Touaregs du Dinnik, " Bulletin de l'Institut Français, Afrique Noire, vol. I, nos. 2-3, 1939, pp. 579-586.

192 In Sudanese dialects, amacher, by transposition into local
197 phonetics, becomes amajer (plural, imajeuren). As we have already said, it is easy to find in these names the old Berber root amazir, which formerly referred to certain Libyan peoples and which still exists in the name of a considerable Berber fraction in Morocco.

The Imochar, who hold the political rights, are the real masters
565 of the country. All of them claim to be of sherif origin, more or
[173] less descendants of the Prophet; however, this claim has no solid foundation, except the desire to assume a high birth affiliating them to Islamism and its founder a long time back, but this is not true.

/159/ Among themselves, the Tuareg refer to men of old nobility and old stock /Fr. race/ as loumet.

565 All the Imochar are essentially warriors. They owe their high
701 social position to the saber, and they know no other occupation than
631 war and raiding. Their role as suzerain makes them parasites of the vassal classes, and they used to constitute a scourge to caravans
[181 crossing their country. Their way of life has always been pillage,
461] and in their eyes manual labor is a disgrace which only slaves can accept.

181 Covering the desert on their camels, fighting, risking death in
565 faraway escapades -- that is what the life of a man of noble blood, who intends to remain one, must be. They take their vassals on their escapades and save part of the booty for them, by right of participation. Scorn for manual labor is a class prejudice with them

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were [643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567] keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they ●461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/

Chapter 2

Dwellings

The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

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[144]

Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally related to the noble *Tayṣak* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
437 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily.

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring: this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Taṛhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Taṛhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*anṛif*) inserted between the water basin (*tikemt*) and the canal (*tefukumt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned, the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallaḳ*; it has smaller seeds than the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

Fig 135. Basket (*téseni*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afum*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*esan*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téyerirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

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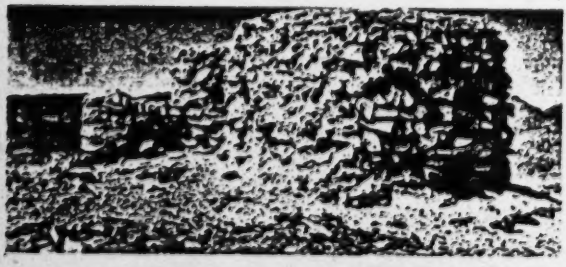
them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date-kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



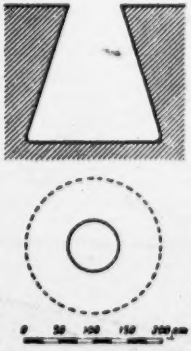


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*ifend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[Text continues on p. 209]

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tions have remained important to the Ahaggar Tuareg, and it is clear that they would not go on trading were these expeditions not profitable, for trading expeditions are extremely strenuous. Though the expeditions set off when the extreme heat is decreasing, it is still very hot in the extensive barren plains in autumn and in winter during daytime. Water and pasture are often extremely scarce in this deserted country, and the Tuareg frequently have to travel rapidly. For days or weeks they live so to say on their camels, and if camels are not too heavily loaded they may do up to 16 hours a day for several days in succession. Under such journeys the Tuareg eat only once a day. Obviously such trading expeditions are also very hard on the pack-camels, and there is always a risk of loosing a camel during such journeys through barren, desert country.

In this brief outline of caravan trading I have not considered those Ahaggar Tuareg living constantly in the Tamesna plains and adjacent regions. These Tuareg own more livestock than the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif, and I do not believe that they engage so much in extensive trading expeditions. They are comparatively rich in she-camels which are tolerably good milk yielders in these regions most of the year, and milk is more important as food than it is in Ahaggar. I believe that most Ahaggar Tuareg of the Tamesna region acquire their necessary vegetable products by selling surplus livestock, butter and cheese at the markets of Ingal and Agadez.

CARAVAN TRADING OF THE AYR TUAREG

Among the Ayr Tuareg stock-breeding products are far more important for food than in the north. Grazing conditions are better with annual pasture as a recurrent event, and the Tuareg keep bigger flocks of goats and sheep, larger camel herds, and most have a few zebus which are guarded without much difficulty. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Southern Ayr can live on milk for a large part of the year, though they, like those of Ahaggar, become tired of milk drinking if they get no solid food. There are Tuareg of Southern Ayr who live exclusively on milk for two or three months during the periods of *akasa* and *rarat* and to whom milk is important as food for at least six months. In the extremely hot season of *ewilen* when milk is very scarce most Tuareg eat millet porridge with a little milk or sauce (cf. p. 242 f.), and Tuareg who are not very wealthy eat millet porridge to a great extent all the year round, so that the necessary amount of millet for many camps is about 0.5 kilo a day per person, or about 180 kilos a year. In Ayr there are fairly good possibilities of collecting if there are not too many locusts, but most Tuareg do not collect a great quantity of wild seeds, and claim that they would be very badly off without millet, as seeds of wild plants are not very nourishing in comparison. In one year during the second world war (in 1943) they say that millet was very hard to get; it was then very difficult to subsist and a great many animals had to be killed for food. Millet is almost indispensable to the Tuareg; they also consume other vegetables derived from agriculture, notably wheat, maize, and dates, but millet is the most essential non-nomadic food product. Normally it can be acquired by most Ayr Tuareg without much difficulty.

The people of Ayr obtain their provisions of millet from the Sudanese area of shifting cultivation, notably from Damergu (Tanut). Millet can also be bought at Agadez whereto it is brought by Tuareg

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or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ćwerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

342* [284] [285]

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

342* 461

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:—

342*

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

[134]

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

[184]

[Text continues on p. 356]